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V.—NOTES ON THE MODERN MINSI-DELAWARE DIALECT.

The story of the enforced westward wanderings of the ill-fated Lenâpe¹ has been told in detail by Brinton (*The Lenâpe and Their Legends*, pp. 122-6).

At the present day this famous tribe, whose three clans—the Minsi, the Unami, and the Unalachtigo²—were once the dominant native race in Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and parts of New York State, is represented by but a few bands living on scattered reservations—some in Indian Territory and some in Ontario, Canada. The Delawares of Indian Territory have quite lost their identity as a tribe of Indians, as they have been incorporated with the Cherokee Nation, by whose chief and council they are governed. The last recognized Delaware chief of this division of the tribe was Charles Journey-cake (Qy. Johnny-cake?), whose daughters are now married to white men. These Indians occupy lands in the Muskogee Agency situated in the north-western part of the Cherokee Nation. There are still about eight hundred Delawares in this region, all of whom moved to the Cherokee country from Kansas, in 1867.³ I am informed that a few members of the race linger on at New Westfield, near Ottawa, Kansas, most of whom are under the charge of the Moravian Church.

In Ontario, Canada, there are only about three hundred in all, e. g. one hundred at Hagersville, on the Six Nations' (Iroquois) Reserve (Chief Nelles Montour), one hundred at Munceytown,

¹*Lenape* 'a male,' from *lenno* 'man' + *ape*, e. g. a man *par excellence*, 'a man of our tribe.' See Brinton, pp. 34-5, and Prince, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, Dec. 1899, p. 186.

²Brinton, p. 36, gives the following derivations: *Minsi* from *minthiû* 'be scattered' + *achsin* 'stone.' *Unami* 'people down the river,' from *naheu* 'down-stream'; cf. Abn. *nahwi*. *Unalachtigo* (mod. *Wonalatoko*) 'people who live near the ocean,' from *wûnalawwat* 'go towards' and *t'kow* 'wave.' With *achsin* cf. Abn. *asen*, *sen* 'stone,' and with *t'kow* cf. Abn. *tego* 'wave' and the termination *-tekw* 'river.'

³I am indebted for this information to Mr. Dew M. Wisdom, formerly Indian Agent at Muskogee, I. T.

and the same number at Moraviantown, which is the seat of a Moravian mission.¹ The Canadian Delawares are all Protestants, belonging, for the most part, either to the Church of England or to the Moravians.

Brinton (op. cit., pp. 91 ff.) has pointed out the chief differences between the two ancient dialects of the Lenâpe, viz. the Unami-Unalachtigo and the Minsi. Of these, the Minsi is spoken by all the Canadian Delawares. In this connection, however, it is interesting to note that in a letter to Dr. Brinton, dated Moraviantown, 1884, Chief Gottlieb Tobias² states that three aged persons were then living who could still talk the other dialect. It is evident that most of the Delawares of I. T. use the Unami-Unalachtigo, as Chief Montour, of Hagersville, Ont., writes that, when he visited the Cherokee settlement of his race some years ago, he could only understand with difficulty the speech of his congeners resident there. On the other hand, he asserts that the Delawares near Ottawa, Kansas, use pure Minsi.

The following sentences and letter should be of interest to the student of Algie languages, as they represent the Minsi dialect as at present in use among the Delawares of Ontario. They were written for me, together with other material—all without grammatical comment—by Chief Nelles Montour, of Hagersville, Ont., a highly intelligent and well-educated Indian. The rather cumbersome phonetic system which he follows, while perhaps unsatisfactory from a strictly scientific point of view, is still perfectly clear and consistent. Instead of using the German notation as adopted by the Moravian missionaries, which is yet in vogue among the Delawares who belong to that Church, he spells entirely in the English style, as do all his nation who are members of the Church of England.

The following important points with regard to the pronunciation of the Delaware words cited from him should be noted: 1. Medial and final *h* is not an aspirate, but merely a pause. 2. The combination *ng* is pronounced like *ng* in 'king.' 3. The combination *rh* is a deep guttural *kh*, almost *gh*. *R* has not existed in Lenâpe since the days of the early Swedish colony in Pennsylvania and New Jersey (see Brinton, *Lenape*, p. 96). It is now represented by *l*. A similar change has taken place in the Abenaki idiom, as may be seen by comparing the ancient dictionary of Rasle with

¹ This is the estimate of Chief Nelles Montour, of Hagersville, Ont.

² Op. cit., p. 88.

the modern dialects. 4. Final *q* is pronounced like *-kw*, the *w* being whistled with a faint succeeding vowel. 5. *Th* is invariably soft as in 'with.' This sound is not indicated by the Moravians, who represent it simply by *s*, which rarely ever occurs. Their *x*, then, is really *kth*. 6. Initial *w* immediately preceding a consonant, like the same sound in Passamaquoddy, is followed by a short and unclear vowel similar to the Hebrew *sh'va mobile*. 7. Final *w*, as in the syllable *-tho-w*, should be sounded very gently. 8. *Wh* is a guttural combination composed of *w* + *kh*. 9. The vowel *i* before *l* or *sh* is a thick, unclear vowel merging into the sonant consonant. 10. The apostrophe (') indicates a very short *u*. 11. The vowels are pronounced exactly as in English.

I have not followed the syllabic division in Montour's manuscript, as this frequently obscures the composition and derivation of the words, which I have endeavored to indicate wherever possible, both by a comparison with the older dialect of the German missionaries (styled O.D. = Old Delaware) and with the kindred Algic idioms of the Abenakis and Passamaquoddies.

In the Abenaki words here given, note that *ñ* = French nasal *n* and that the inverted apostrophe (') is a gentle guttural voice-stop like the Semitic '*Ayin*. The vowels should be pronounced as in Italian and the consonants as in English, except *k*, *t*, *p*, which are voiceless *tenues*, and *j*, which has two pronunciations, e. g. *ts'* before *e* and *i*, and *dsh* before *a*, *o* and *u*.

Examples.

1. *Unisheek quawpunurheen joh* (pl. *jothuk*), O.D. *Anischik k'woapanachin n'tschu* 'Thanks for your morning, my friend (good morning).' *Woapanachin* is a participial formation containing *woapaneü* 'morning,' lit. 'the whitening (of the dawn).' The root *woap-* really means 'white.' Thus, *woap-aschapi-all* 'white beads' (*-all* is the inanimate plural ending), *woapaniken* 'lime.' Compare Abn. *woñbi-* 'white' and *woñban* 'daybreak,' whence the terms Del. *Wapanakhki*, Abn. *Woñbana'ki* 'land (also inhabitant) of the East,' applied to all the eastern Algic tribes.¹ *Joh* should be *n'joh*, like *n'tschu*. It is the same stem as

¹ There can be no doubt that this word means 'inhabitant of the East,' as the Abenakis use it in this sense; also *nibena'ki* 'land of the South' and 'Southerner,' from *niben* 'summer' + *a'ki* 'land.' See, however, Brinton, p. 256.

Abn. *wijia* 'his brother' and contains the root O.D. *witschi*, Abn. *weji* 'along with,' e. g. a companion; cf. Del. *witsch'man* 'to help some one'; *witsch'wot* 'he goes with him'; Abn. *wijawi* 'come with me,' etc.

2. *Ninotumin ayleerhtheyun chungeweesh. Queengah-kahkih-kloolil* 'I know your language a little. I would like to talk with you.' *Ninotumin* is 1st pers. sing. present tense of $\sqrt{\text{nowa}}$ 'know,' e. g. *ni* = 'I' with *notum*; cf. O.D. *nowaton* (inan. form). The animate form would be *nowahan*; cf. *n'nenmarwa* 'I know him' (Anthony, in Len. Dict., p. 100). With this stem should be compared Pass. *n'nenoa* 'I know him,' Abn. *n'wawawinoiwoñ*. The ending *-in* in *notumin* is the sign of the definite object, as in Aben. *n'wajonem awik-higan* 'I have a book,' but *n'wajonemen awik-higan* 'I have the book.' *Ayleerhtheyun* is a participial form, lit. 'that which you speak,' from the same stem as *liechso-wagan* 'language'; cf. also O.D. *helleniechsin* 'to speak Indian,' from preformative syllable *he-*, *e-* + *lenno* 'man' + $\sqrt{\text{iechs}}$ (= *eerhth*). In *ayleerhthe-yun*, *-yun* is the ending of the 2d pers.; cf. in Abn. *wa mili-yan awik-higan* 'that is the book you gave me,' e. g. *mil-* 'give' + *-i* 'to me' + *yan* 'you' (lit. 'that [is the] you-me-having-given-book'). *Queengah-kahkih-kloolil* 'I would like to talk with you.' *Queengah* = *k'winga* (*k'* 'you' + *winga* 'wish'; cf. O.D. *wingi* 'willingly'). With *kahkih-klool* cf. O.D. *gigitowal-an* 'to talk with some one.' The ending *-il* is the element of the 1st pers. altered from original *n*. For the combination 2d person + root + 1st person, cf. *k'meel-il* 'I give you,' Abn. *k'namiol* 'I see you,' etc.

3. *Dillahkakeemquin linape talli Hagersville* 'An Indian at H. taught it to me.' The first word here, 'he taught it to me,' should probably be written like the O.D. *ndilachgegimquon*, e. g. *n'* 'to me' (a soft sonant, scarcely audible, omitted by Montour) + *d-*, always inserted between a pronominal prefix and a succeeding vowel, + *l*, frequently appearing when a root begins with a vowel (cf. Abn. *-oñd'wa* 'speak,' but *l-oñd'wa-a* 'that I speak') + *achgegim* 'teach' + *-quon* 'he.' With *achgegim* cf. Abn. *a'gakim* 'learn, teach,' and for the whole form cf. Abn. *n'giz-a'gakim-gon* 'he taught it to me' (*-giz-* here = *kizi* 'can'; *k* changes to *g* after *n* by partial assimilation). For the word *linape* (e. g. *lenno* 'man' + *-ape* 'male'), see above. *Talli* is pure Abenaki *tali*; *ta* 'verily, truly' + *li* 'to, at.' In Abn. it is usually suffixed: New York *tali* 'at New York.'

4. *Nweengahtumin dullahween waukah numathhan* 'I like to hunt better than to fish.' *Nweengahtumin*: *N* = 'I' + *weengah* 'like' (see above) + *tum*, inanimate ending (cf. Abn. *n'namiton* 'I see it'), + *-in*, definite ending as above. *Dullahween* 'that I hunt' is for O.D. *nd-allauwin* (cf. *elawit* 'hunter') with *-d-* inserted before the vowel. The *n* suffix shows the subjunctive. *Waukah* = *wauk*, O.D. *woak* 'and' + *ah*, the sign of negation. Cf. Abn. *öndaki* 'than,' from *önda* 'not' + the particle *-ki*. *Numathhan* 'that I fish': *n* + *numath* + *han*, subjunctive. With *numath* 'fish' cf. O.D. *names*, Abn. *namas*, from *n/ am-öm*, seen, for example, in *ömawönmuk* 'one fishes,' *nd-aman* 'I fish.' With this whole phrase cf. Abn. *npamaldamen n'nadialin öndaki ndaman*; Pass. *Nolimusajin ng'donkan kädik nd-aman*.

5. *Keeshahuhkeendumin ayleerhtheyun* 'you can read your language.' *Keeshah* stands for *k'* 'you' + *keeshah* 'can' (cf. Prince, Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., Dec. 1899, p. 186). *Uhkeen* = O.D. *achgin* and *-dum* = O.D. *-dam*. The ending *-in*, as above, is definite. In O.D. the whole form would be *achgindamen*, in Abn. *agidamen*. This stem *n/achgi-agi* is undoubtedly allied with *a'gakim* 'learn, teach' (see above).

The following short letter in modern Minsi will illustrate further the peculiar construction and the vocabulary of the language:

Ahwautilun joth:—*kutuhlilin alaulowyon talli Canada kohpe tuckquauqua. Yooluk Pontiac ootani Quebec Wsheepwa ootang. Nihluh neeshwuk moothuk. Weetuhwamuk oomba nihla myauthowhwah wiithoo. Ahpwut ahloween nih talli wauk ahwih numathihka.*

Ne kjoth.

My dear friend:—I will tell you about my hunting in Canada last autumn. I went to Pontiac County, Quebec, in the Ojibway country. I killed two moose. My wife also killed a good one. The hunting is good there and the fishing is even better.

I am your friend.

With the root *ahwaul* cf. O.D. *ahoalan* 'to love some one.' *Ahwautilun* is a participle with the ending *-il*, indicating the 1st person, and *-un*, the characteristic participial termination. *Kutuhlilin* may be analyzed thus: *k'* 'you' + *t* infixed before a vowel + *uhl* 'tell' (Abn. *k'li* 'tell me') + *-il* 'I' + the definite *-in*. *Alaulowyon*: *Al*, prefix *l* with vowel, as above in Abn. *l-önd'wa-a*, +

aulowee 'hunt' + *yon*, 1st pers. partic. ending. *Tuckquaugua* = O.D. *tachquoak* 'autumn.' The ending *-qua* (O.D. *-quē*) shows the past relation; cf. Abn. *tagwoŋgo* 'autumn,' *tagwoŋgwa* 'last autumn,' *tagwoŋgwiga* 'next autumn' (Minsi *tachquogike*). *Yooluk* 'I went' (cf. *aal*, Len. Dict., p. 9, 2). *Ootani* 'district, country,' usually 'a town'; cf. Abn. *odana*, Pass. *utene*. In *ootanang*, *-ang* is the regular locative ending nasalized as in the 'Algonquin'¹ and Ojibway. In Abn. and Pass. this appears as *-k*; cf. *odanak*, *utenek*.

'I killed two moose' would be in Abn. *n'nihoŋ nizoak moŋzak*. *Weetuhwamuk* (*witawemak*) 'my wife,' lit. 'the one who lives with me,' e. g. 'my house-mate.' There is no sexual gender in the Algonquian languages. Cf. Abn. *nizwiak* 'my wife,' from *niz* 'two' and *wi-wig* 'live,' seen in *k'wigin* 'you live,' *wigwōm* 'house,' etc. *Myauthowhwah* 'one' (animate) is cognate with O.D. *mejauchsit*. *Wliithoo* contains the adjective *wli* 'good' as in Abn., and Pass. *Numathihka* contains *numath* 'fish' and *ihka* (*ike*) 'there are plenty'; cf. Abn. *namasika* 'there are many fish.'

Finally, to illustrate the divergence between the older Delaware of the missionaries and the modern Minsi, I give the Lord's Prayer in both dialects, as well as in the Abenaki and Passamaquoddy. Many of the differences between the O.D. and modern Minsi are due to the fact that the older version is not in pure Minsi, but in a mixed dialect, half Unami-Unalachtigo and half Minsi.

The Lord's Prayer.

O.D.²: *Ki wetochemelenk³ talli epian awossagame.*

Mod. Minsi⁴: *Nuchwenah aipyun ahwossaukumawh.*

Thou our Father, there dwelling beyond the clouds.

*Machelendasutsch ktellewunsowagan. K'sakimowagan peye-
Whaerhindahsowitch kitisheenzwaukun. Kekiyoowaukun paya-
Praised be Thy name. Thy kingdom come*

¹ The 'Algonquin' tribe is a branch of the Ojibways. The 'Algonquins' had their headquarters in former days at Oka (*Lac des Deux Montagnes*), near Montreal, but are now scattered through eastern Canada.

² The text of the O.D. version is quoted from Heckewelder's *Indian Nations*, pp. 424 ff.

³ This is a participial form; lit. 'he who is father to us.' Cf. Ojibway *weyūsemegūyūn*.

⁴ Taken from 'The Book of Common Prayer in Munsee.'

<i>wiketsch.</i>	<i>Kitelitehewagan</i>	<i>leketsch</i>	<i>yun</i>	<i>achquidhackamike</i>
<i>wekitch.</i>	<i>Lakitch aleh</i>	<i>ta-hiyun</i>	<i>yoon</i>	<i>talli aukeeng</i>
on.	Thy thought	happen	here	on earth

eligui *leek talli awossagame.* *Milineen eligischquik*
ailkehquee laig talli ahwosaukumawh. *Melenain qui keishquik*
the same as it is there above. Give to us on this day

gunagischuk achpoan *woak miwelendamauwineen*
wataupwawn meeyaink wauk mewalindumowhwenain
the usual bread and forgive to us our

<i>ntschan-nauch-sowagannena</i>	<i>elgiqui</i>	<i>niluna</i>	<i>miwelendammar-</i>
<i>njunowhsoowaukuninahnu</i> ¹	<i>aileh</i>	<i>neloon</i> ²	<i>mewalindumawh-</i>
faults	the same as we		mutually forgive

wenk nik tschetschanilawequengik *woak katschi n'pa-*
waink neik chachunehlawh-waimquaimgweik *wauk chelahbawh-*
 them that have injured us and let-not us come that

<i>wuneeen</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>achquetschiechtowaganink</i>	<i>schukund</i>	<i>ktennineen</i>
<i>nain</i>	<i>leh</i>	<i>ahquachetoowaukunink</i>	<i>shukquint</i>	<i>ketinehnain</i>
we	fall	into temptation, but		keep us free

untschi medhicking. Alod knihillatamen ksakimowagan
winjeh matehkink. Ahloot kinnehlahtummin kekiyoowaukun
 from evil. For Thou claimest Thy kingdom and

woak ktallewussowagan *woak ktallowilissowagan* *ne*
wauk pahtahweilsowaukun *wauk quelowhwailmooksoowaukun* *leh*
the power and magnificence from

wuntschi hallemiwi. Nanne leketsch.

hulmewh, wauk aupcheh. Amen.

henceforth evermore. So be it.

¹All the Algic idioms distinguish grammatically between animate and inanimate objects. Generally speaking, the animate pl. may always be known by *-k* and the inanimate form by *-l* (*-r*, *-n* in some dialects).

² A distinction is made in all the Algic languages between *we = I and you* and *we = I and they*. *Niluna* (*neloona*) is the exclusive *we = I and they*. Cf. Pass. *nilün*, Abn. *niüna*. The inclusive form 'I and you' is *kiluna* (*keloona*), Pass. *kilün*, Abn. *kiüna*.

Abenaki.

N'mitoŋgwsena Spemkik ayan soŋgmoïwal meguadich aliwizian. K'tebaldamwoŋgan paiomwich. K'laldamwoŋgan likitoŋguadich, tali kik tahoŋlawi Spemkik. Noŋmilina nikuoŋbi pam'gisgak nedatogiskue aboŋmena ta anahaldamawina n'balaloŋkawoŋganenawal tahoŋlawi niuna ali anahaldamawoŋk palikadoŋguajik. Ta akui losalina w'nemihodwoŋganek, kaduinahadaki teni majigek. Ni alach.

Passamaquoddy.

N'mitokwsunu Spumkik eyun: imieyucheswiktasich k'wisuwun. Kinchemuswutim pukuchihuch. Kuliduhadumuwag'n ulihach uskitkumikw stuke elihak Spumkik. Pemkiskak milin etuskiskakigewe n'tubanumun; Ha linheltumuwine nutchamag'ni-muwul stuke nilun eliuneltumuwugut tanik wechanmuinmuchiik. Ha musak lip-hikek asiluweduwag'n ikuk. Kenuk uchisemaline lakumiksuok'n ikuk. Ibujul kukinchemusewakim ha kutupeltumuwag'num ha kukichitum ituhadumuwag'n askumiu. Amen.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE.